CHIEF JOSEPH, THE NEZ PERCE

by

EDMOND STEPHEN MEANY, M.S.

(Professor of History, University of Washington)

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of

MASTER OF LETTERS

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

1901

PREFACE.

--o--

During the summer session of the University of Wisconsin in 1900 there was assigned to me for especial research and report, in the class in History of the West, the subject of Chief Joseph, the Nez Perce. Finding the material abundant, and knowing that this great Indian was still living on the Colville Reservation in my home state of Washington where he could be visited for the latest and unpublished information, it was decided to continue the study.

Most of the literature consulted was found in the libraries of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and the University of Wisconsin. This information has been supplemented by numerous letters from and interviews with men who fought against Joseph and others who have known him intimately and by seven personal talks with the Chief at his home on the banks of the Nespilem River, Colville Reservation, Washington.

I have been greatly aided in this work by Professor F. J. Turner and the officers and attendants of the libraries mentioned, while my visit to the Chief was greatly facilitated by United States Senator A. G. Foster, Hon. W. A. Jones, United States Commissioner of Indian

Affairs; Major Albert M. Anderson, Agent and Henry M. Steele, sub-Agent of the Colville Reservation; Barnett Stillwell, teacher of the Nespilem school; and the latter's little daughter Ada C. Stillwell, eleven years of age. This little girl having mingled with the Nez Perce children for four years has learned their language and acted as one of my interpreters.

Madison, Wisconsin, August, 1901.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

---o---

INTRODUCTION.

CHIEF JOSEPH, THE NEZ PERCE.

---o---

"Xenophon did no more than he." This was the emphatic language of Colonel Charles A. Coolidge when asked for his opinion of Chief Joseph. The Colonel while a lieutenant in the Seventh Infantry under General Gibbon fought against the Nez Perces and was thrice wounded in the Battle of the Big Hole.

"He is hostile to civilization, and his handful of warriors are the most backward of all the tribes on the Colville Reservation, and, taking into consideration the fact that the Government has supplied them so lavishly with rations, clothing, and implements for the past sixteen years, their condition should be very much different."[1] This is the opinion of one who has known Joseph and his people in no other relation than that of agency Indians. Between these two extreme views there lies a great volume of opinion of varying value and color. In

---

[1]U.S.Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1899, p.354. (Report by Albert M. Anderson, Agent of the Colville Reservation).

Northern Idaho, Northeastern Oregon and Southeastern Washington there are many people who remember the Indian outbreak of 1877. They claim that Joseph's people were cruel savages and that a mistake has been made in ascribing greatness of any kind to Chief Joseph. On the other hand, the military men, who fought Joseph and his band, and others who have studied the campaign, invariably give the Chief high rank for great and shrewd generalship.

It is the object of this study to examine all possible evidence that this product of American savagery may be more fairly judged.

While contemplating the reports of the Agents on the Reservation care should be exercised to retain an impartial point of view. Sitting Bull once exclaimed: "The Great Spirit made me an Indian but he did not make me an Agency Indian!"[1] C. E. S. Wood, who was with General Howard throughout the Nez Perce campaign, in speaking of another warrior, Poor Crane, Chief of the Cayuses, says that it would be as impossible for him to cultivate lands allotted to him in severalty as it would for a cougar to turn sheep-dog.[2] So it is largely with Joseph. The

---

[1]F.S.Drake: Indian History p.447; Maj.G.W.Baird, General Miles's Indian Campaigns, Century Vol.XX,p.370.
[2]Century, XLVI,445.

promises made to him at the time of his surrender were ruthlessly broken and for twenty four years he has been fed, clothed and otherwise treated practically as a prisoner of war. Joseph prefers his old familiar tepee to the rude, rough-board cabin built by the Government. He is a product of the wilderness. At the supreme hour in his life he showed that he possessed remarkable power. At the present time, a ward of the Government, he deports himself with a quiet and unassuming dignity which compels the respect of all who come in contact with him.

CHAPTER I.

LEGAL STATUS OF JOSEPH'S BAND BEFORE THE WAR OF 1877.

---o---

It should be remembered that the Nez Perce nation is the largest federation of Indian tribes in the Pacific Northwest and that from the time that they first saw the white man, when the Lewis and Clark Expedition visited them in 1805, down to the present day it is a matter of pride with the nation at large that they have been the constant and unfailing friends of their pale-face brothers. This friendliness is commented on favorably in every published journal of the early travellers who visited the Nez Perce country. As the white settlements multiplied and Territorial Governments were organized it became necessary, under the policy then in vogue, to make treaties with the Indians, to buy their lands and to fix the limits of their reservations. At this point started a misunderstanding with a comparatively small portion of the nation which finally culminated in the war of 1877.

When Washington Territory was created, by Act of Congress, dated March 2, 1853, its limits extended from the Pacific Ocean eastward to the Rocky Mountains, thus embracing the Nez Perce lands. In his first message to

the legislature[1], Governor Isaac I. Stevens recommended that Congress be memorialized to provide for quieting Indian titles to the lands of the Territory. This was done. Congress acted promptly and on June 11, 1855, the Nez Perce Indians concluded their first treaty with the white men. Here again we find evidence of the Nez Perce friendship for the whites. The council grounds were near the present City of Walla Walla. Besides the Nez Perces there were assembled for the same purposes the Cayuses, Walla Wallas, Umatillas, Yakimas and other smaller tribes. Six thousand Indians were in council with sixty whites. Yellow Serpent, Chief of the Cayuses, arranged for a massacre of the whites. This was prevented by Lawyer, the powerful head chief of the Nez Perces, who informed Governor Stevens, the white Tyer, of his danger, moved his tepee into the camp of the whites and averted danger after which the treaties with all the tribes were promptly concluded.[2] In this first Nez Perce treaty is found the cause of all the trouble with these uniformly friendly Indians. The difficulty lay in fixing the bounds of the proposed reservation for the Nez Perces and especially,

---

[1] Washington Territorial Honor Journal, 1854, pp.15-22.
[2] Hazard Stevens, Life of Isaac I. Stevens, Vol.II, p.47.

in subsequent adjustments, to determine whether Wallowa Valley the ancient home of Joseph's tribe was or was not included in the lands ceded by the Indians to the whites. Two years after the war there appeared in the North American Review[1] an article purporting to come from Chief Joseph in which he describes the death scene of his father (also known as Chief Joseph) in which the father cautions the son who is about to succeed him as chief to always remember that his father never sold his country.[2] To this article General O. O. Howard replied[3] giving his view of the Wallowa campaign and calling especial attention to the fact that Chief Joseph had sold his country as his name was the third on the list of Indian signatures to the treaty of 1855. In the matter of that signature, General Howard was correct.[4] But while it is true that Joseph's father signed that treaty in 1855 it is not true that by doing so he sold his beloved Valley of Winding Waters. Nearly four years lapsed between the conclusion of the treaty of 1855 and its ratification by the Senate. When the news of that ratification reached Washington

---

[1]Vol.CXXVIII,pp.412-433. [2]Ibid.p.419.
[3]Ibid.Vol.CXXIX,pp.53-64.
[4]See pamphlet edition of the treaty published at the time of its proclamation, April 29, 1859.

Territory, United States Indian Agent A. J. Cain hastened to meet the Nez Perces in a council at Weipe, the root grounds of the tribes. Among the chiefs assembled were the older Joseph, Looking Glass and White Bird. Each one spoke his joy that the treaty had been approved. Among other things Joseph said: "The line was made as I wanted it; not for me, but my children that will follow me; there is where I live, and there is where I want to leave my body. The land on the other side of the line is what we gave to the great father."[1] Mr. Cain, representing his government, said he was especially pleased to hear Joseph and these other Indian Chiefs speak so approvingly of this treaty. Then came the point of departure. The Government failed to keep the promises of the treaty. White settlers increased. Gold was discovered in the Nez Perce country, in 1860, causing a rush of white and Chinese prospectors and miners. They brought whiskey among the Indians to the disgust of some of the chiefs.[2] The mining town of Oro Fino was established on the reservation, about ninety miles from the agency.[3] Attempts were made to construe the treaty of 1855 as having ceded to the

---

[1]United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1859, pp.418-423. [2]Ibid., 1866, pp.193-194. [3]Ibid., p.193.

whites the Wallowa and Immaha and other valleys which were held by the bands or tribes of Joseph, Looking Glass, White Bird and Too-hul-hul-sote. These chiefs rebelled against such construction and became known as the non-treaty Nez Perces. They taunted the other bands, or treaty Indians, with the fact that the promised supplies and improvements never came from the Government. This argument was silenced for a time when the first supplies came in 1861 and 1862 but it broke out with fresh vigor when the supplies were shut off again.[1] All through such evidences of bad faith the bulk of the Nez Perce nation remained friendly while the non-treaty Indians remained off the reservation, refused all supplies and spent their time on the lands they claimed as homes or in the buffalo country east of the Rocky Mountains. In order to settle the vexed question of the title to the Wallowa Valley and other disputed lands a commission was appointed to meet the Nez Perces at Lapwai in 1863. The treaty was concluded on June 9th and was signed by Chief Lawyer and fifty other chiefs and headmen. This treaty was not ratified by the Senate until April 17, 1867. It was soon found that this treaty was incomplete, so three chiefs —

---

[1]United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1865, pp.236-237.

Lawyer, Timothy and Jason — were taken to Washington City where they concluded, on August 13, 1868, a supplemental treaty which was ratified by the Senate on February 16, 1869. Chief Joseph and the other non-treaty Indians voted against these two treaties but, as General Howard says[1] the Government decided that the decision of a majority of the Nez Perces should bind them all and the reservation was accordingly cut down so as to throw open to settlement by the whites the Wallowa and other valleys claimed by the non-treaty Nez Perces.

On this question of a majority of Indians binding a minority C. E. S. Wood[2] says it is applying North American politics to the North Americans who never heard of such a thing as one man binding another without his consent. "If you consider a convention of Indians bound by rules and customs they never heard of and repudiate as soon as stated, then this was 'just'. If you consider that the consenting chiefs were not affected to a spear of grass, while the non-consenting were utterly uprooted in their promised district and conveyed wholly to a different one then perhaps you'll agree with young Joseph's simile: 'A man wants

---

[1]In a personal letter dated at Burlington, Vermont, July 24, 1900. [2]In a personal letter dated at Portland, Oregon, July 23, 1900.

to buy my horses. I refuse to sell them. He goes to my neighbor and says: "Joseph has fine horses. I want them but he will not sell them." My neighbor says: "I will sell them to you." So he comes back to me and says: "Joseph I have bought your horses."[1]

Acting under instructions from the Interior Department, T. B. Odeneal, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon, and John B. Monteith, Agent of the Nez Perce Reservation, held a council at Lapwai with young Joseph and his band on March 27, 1873. These commissioners submitted a report to the Interior Department to the effect that the Wallowa Valley was the ancient home of Joseph's people and had never been rightly ceded to the United States. Acting on this report the Secretary of the Interior gave orders that the band of Indians be notified that they could continue to occupy that Valley in peace. Immediately following this President Grant issued an executive order dated June 16, 1873, withdrawing the Wallowa Valley from settlement and setting it aside as a reservation for the roaming Nez Perce Indians.[2]

---

[1]See, also, Young Joseph, An Indian's View of Indian Affairs, North American Review, Vol. CXXVIII, 419-420. [2]Col. H. Clay Wood, Ass't Adj. Gen. Dep. of the Columbia to Brig. Gen. O. O. Howard, Report on Status of Young Joseph, p.33, Indian Pamphlet, Vol. XXXVIII, Wisconsin State Historical Society; U.S. Secretary of War, Annual Report, 1876-77, pp.88-95.

This executive order displeased the people of Oregon and Governor L. F. Grover wrote a long letter in July, 1873, to the Government asking that the order be revoked, the Wallowa Valley restored to settlement and the Indians removed to the Idaho reservation.[1] Evidently the Oregon move had its effect for on June 10, 1875, President Grant issued another executive order annulling the former one and throwing the Wallowa Valley open to settlement again.[2] Thus Joseph's band after enjoying those two years of acknowledged freedom in his old home valley was again given to understand that the white man had a better right there than he.

It is thus seen that Joseph's band could legally be bound by only one treaty, the first one in 1855, which gave the Indians an immense reservation including Joseph's Wallowa Valley.[3] To all other treaties they refused assent. The methods employed by the Government to take away those lands would puzzle a wiser head than Joseph's and it certainly seems shameful that the Government should use its might to settle a dispute with people who had been such constant friends as had the Nez Perces.[4]

---

[1]General O. O. Howard, Nez Perce Joseph, pp.25-27.
[2]Wood, Status of Joseph, p. 34.
[3]Howard, Nez Perce Joseph, p.7.
[4]Ibid.,p.27; Wood, Status of Joseph, supplemental report.

CHAPTER II.

NEGOTIATIONS AND TROUBLES PRECEDING THE OUTBREAK.

---o---

The exhaustive report by Colonel H. Clay Wood to General O. O. Howard on the Status of Young Joseph and his band was dated January 8, 1976. In forwarding a copy of that report to the Government, General Howard asked that a commission be appointed to confer with these disaffected Indians and on October 18, 1876, the Interior Department designated the following as the Nez Perce Indian Commissioners: D. H. Jerome of Saginaw, Michigan, Chairman; Brigadier General O. O. Howard, Major H. Clay Wood, William Stickney of Washington City; A. C. Barstow, of Providence, Rhode Island.

In the meantime Major Wood, who had become greatly interested in the band of Chief Joseph, arranged a conference with them about the middle of July, 1876. He was accompanied on this errand by Colonel David Perry, First Cavalry, commanding at Fort Lapwai; Assistant Surgeon Jenkins A. Fitzgerald, United States Army; and Lieutenant Colonel William R. Parnell, First Cavalry. They found the Indians greatly incensed over the killing of a member of their band on June twenty third by a white man named

Finlay.[1] Promises were made that the white man should be arrested and tried for the crime. This was actually done later but the white man was acquitted. On this same occasion a second conference was held at Fort Lapwai on July twenty third when Ollicutt, Joseph's brother and himself a chief, produced an Indian map showing the lands they proposed to hold. This map included the Wallowa, Grande Ronde and Imnaha Valleys. They had not before claimed the Grande Ronde Valley. The conferences resulted in increasing Major Wood's respect for the justice of the claims of Joseph and his band. He also urged the appointment of an official commission which was done, as already stated, in October of that year.

The net results of the work of this commission may be said to consist simply of a restatement of the validity of Joseph's claim to the Wallowa Valley coupled with recommendations that since there are too many settlers already in that Valley that, by peaceful means if possible or by forceful means if necessary, Joseph's band should be transferred to some other reservation and that they be recompensed for the loss of the Wallowa Valley by giving them houses, fences,

---

[1]Newspaper clipping in Indian Pamphlet, Vol. XXXVIII, Wisconsin State Historical Society: Howard, Nez Perce Joseph, p.32.

farm implements and pasturage. The Commission could not make a treaty as the Indians declined to enter into any negotiations looking to that end.[1] The matter was left with the understanding that if the Indians committed any depredations they were to be forcibly put upon the Nez Perce Reservation in Idaho.

Early in January, 1877, Agent Monteith at Lapwai received instructions from the Interior Department, based on the recommendations of the Commission. He sought to persuade the non-treaty Indians to come to the reservation. A little later General Howard received word that young Joseph wished to meet him at the Umatilla agency, alleging that the interpreters at Lapwai had not told his desires correctly to the Commission. General Howard sent his aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Boyle and Joseph, being ill, sent his brother Ollicutt. The outcome was a request to meet General Howard at Walla Walla. The General consented and on April nineteenth he was at Walla Walla where he also met Ollicutt, Chief Joseph being still too ill to attend the meeting. The talk did not amount to much except securing from General Howard a promise to meet at Lapwai in twelve days the Indians of Joseph's band and those of the Salmon River and other non-treaty tribes. On May 3, General Howard was at

[1] Howard, Nez Perce Joseph, p.33.

Lapwai to keep his appointment. Joseph and his brother Ollicutt were there with about fifty of their band. The first day's talk amounted to little as the two brothers claimed that Chief White Bird and his band were coming on the following day to join in the council. General Howard and Agent Monteith were very careful to inform the Indians that they could do nothing but obey the Government. Their instructions were read and interpreted to the Indians who were told that if they would at once come onto the reservation they could have their pick of whatever lands were left.

On the following day White Bird and part of his band and Too-hul-hul-sote and part of his band came into the camp. The arrangement of the Indians for this council shows in what relative rank they probably held each other. Joseph sat on a low bench. Ollicutt half reclined on the ground at his feet and White Bird was just behind Joseph and a little to the left of Ollicutt. The Indians talked against the treaty by which their lands had been given away by others. The main spokesman was Too-hul-hul-sote who continually repeated phrases about the earth being his mother. Joseph finally asked for a postponement and General Howard wishing to call in more troops suggested that the Indians take plenty of time to think it all over. They would meet again on Monday. That would give the General

three precious days to call in troops from Grande Ronde, Walla Walla and other neighboring points.

On Monday, May seventh, the third interview took place. The Indians had received many accessions but none of the new troops had arrived. Again the Indians put forward as their spokesman the old "Dreamer", Chief Too-hul-hul-sote, who continued his talk about the earth and its sacredness to the Indian. The others seemed more restless. Some of them were armed and General Howard says[1] that he knew the crisis had come for him to prevent a possible massacre by a show of boldness. He consequently placed Too-hul-hul-sote under arrest and the other Indians almost immediately showed better temper.

The next day, as agreed, Chiefs Joseph, White Bird and Looking Glass rode out over the reservation with General Howard to pick out possible homes for their people. On Wednesday they examined another portion of the reservation. Each chief picked out the portion of the reservation he wanted. Captain Trimble's Company of the First Cavalry had arrived and news had been received that two other companies, Whipple's and Winter's had arrived at the banks of the Grande Ronde. Joseph heard this last news and hurried

---

[1]Howard, Nez Perce Joseph, p.65.

matters to a settlement. All agreed to come onto the reservation in thirty days or about June fourteenth.

General Howard returned to Portland, Oregon, where he was soon after joined by Colonel E. C. Watkins, Inspector of Indian Affairs, who was to make a tour of the agencies in General Howard's military Department of the Columbia, jokingly called because of its wide expanse, the "Geographical" Department. On May thirtieth, they started on this tour and by way of precaution, assembled the various renegade tribes along the Columbia for a council at Fort Simcoe. This was a complete success, all the tribes promising to make peaceful settlements on reservations. They continued on to Lapwai and arriving there the very day the non-treaty Indians promised to be on the reservation the peace and quietness was disturbed by the receipt of a letter from Mount Idaho, dated June 14th., stating that sixty lodges of White Bird's and Joseph's Indians were placed at the head of Rocky Canyon, eight miles from there. The Indians were saucy and were buying arms and ammunition. They claimed that they would fight the soldiers when they came to force them onto the reservation.

Colonel Perry sent a small detachment of soldiers to see what was the trouble with the Indians. About noon these soldiers returned with two excited Indians whom they

had met. These Indians brought the news that three or four Indians had committed a murder near State Creek, where there was a scattered settlement about forty miles beyond Mount Idaho. This information proved true. It was the beginning of hostilities.[1] Chief Joseph claimed that he knew nothing of this outbreak. He was away across the rim killing some beef for his wife who was ill, but he could do nothing else except continue with his people for the whites would never believe his story that he had really been in favor of peace and had intended to go onto the reservation.[2] After the murder of Richard Devine, the first victim of this war, on June thirteenth, three others —— Henry Elfers, Robert Bland, and Henry Beckroge —— were killed on the morning of June fourteenth. This stirred the Indians into a war fever. After a few hours of deliberation and peace talk, Chief Joseph was also drawn to the side of war.

There followed a brief season of murder and outrage over the Camas Prairie, around Salmon River settlements and in the vicinity of Mount Idaho, to which village the

---

[1]General Nelson A. Miles, Personal Recollections, p.260; Howard, Nez Perce Joseph, p.92.
[2]C.E.S.Wood, Chief Joseph, the Nez Perce, Century, Vol.VI, 136.

settlers hastened for shelter. In all twenty one whites were murdered in this preliminary outbreak. Messengers were hastily sent to Fort Lapwai and preparations were at once made to check the Indians in their murderous forays.

CHAPTER III.

SKIRMISHES AND BATTLES IN IDAHO.

---c---

The first battle of the war was a decided victory for the Indians. They set a trap for the soldiers and at the proper moment it was sprung with disastrous results. The Nez Perces had never been at war with the whites. No one was sure of just how they would behave under fire. This first battle was convincing both as to their determination and ability to fight.

As already stated disquieting news came as a surprise from Mount Idaho to the small garrison at Fort Lapwai on June fourteenth, the very day these non-treaty Indians promised to be on the reservation. The next morning this news was followed by reports of the first murders. There was no delay at the garrison. It was instantly decided that an immediate attack must be made if those murders and outrages were to be checked. By evening of that same day Colonel Perry, commanding at the fort was on the march with every man available from his two skeleton companies of cavalry. In all officers and men they numbered but ninety men. At Grangeville, a small hamlet not far from Mount Idaho, the command was joined by about ten citizen

volunteers. At dawn the next day they were at the head of the canyon of White Bird Creek, at the bottom of which was the camp of the hostiles in plain view. The Indians had their pickets posted and Chief Joseph was noticed to send a messenger running to the camp from his position among the rocks. The messenger was observed to quietly awaken one of the chiefs and soon he returned with a white man's field glass. Now began active preparations for the engagement. The soldiers began the descent and the Indians leaving their women and non-combatants in the camp ascended the ravines to meet their enemies. They soon turned the flanks of the cavalry and precipitated the small body of troops into a retreat that became a rout. Colonel Perry in the evening sent a hasty report to General Howard saying that he had succeeded in rallying the remnant of his command at the head of the canyon and the Indians pursued in a running fight as far as Grangeville when they returned to White Bird Creek. One third of the whites were killed in this battle.

General Howard, who apparently by chance was at Fort Lapwai, was not idle. While Colonel Perry prepared for his march against the hostiles, the General sent couriers to the nearest telegraph line at Walla Walla. Captain

Wilkinson made the long ride of one hundred and ten miles in the night arriving there at eight o'clock the next morning. General Howard tells us[1] that the dispatches thus hurried to the outside world called for the men under Colonel Whipple near the Wallowa Valley, and also all the available men from Vancouver, Stevens, Canby, Townsend, Klamath and Harvey. By the twenty first of June eight new companies had arrived at Lapwai. But they were small companies. In all the available force amounted to a few over two hundred men including a company of a little over twenty volunteers from Walla Walla under Captain Paige. On June twenty second this command marched out of the Fort at noon.

Sunday, June twenty fourth, was spent in camp at Morton's ranch. This gave rise to many newspaper complaints to the effect that General Howard spent the precious time in giving religious exhortation and distributing Bibles to the men. The General claims that he needed that time to learn the whereabouts of the Indians, to give Captain Trimble's men time to get around to State Creek and to allow some additional troops to reach him from Lewiston. The next day the command marched to White Bird Creek being joined on the way by the remnant of Colo-

---

[1]Howard, Nez Perce Joseph, pp.120-121.

nel Perry's command. The Indians had been reported still at their camp on White Bird Creek. Careful approach was made and soon it was found that the Indians had crossed the swift Salmon River. The dead of Perry's battle were buried and on the next day while preparing to cross the Salmon River a number of Joseph's Indians came dashing down the banks with a show of bravado. A long distance rifle fire was maintained against them with no effect except to drive the Indians back to the hills.

Hearing that men from the camp of Chief Looking Glass at the forks of the Clearwater were joining the hostiles, General Howard sent Colonel Whipple with the cavalry and the two gatling guns to capture that chief with his band and turn them over as prisoners to the volunteer organizations at Mount Idaho. Whipple was joined by twenty volunteer citizens under command of Captain Randall. They arrived at the camp of Looking Glass at sunrise of July first. The chief at first agreed to surrender but later defiantly refused, resulting in an attack, in which several Indians were killed. The camp with a large amount of supplies and seven hundred and twenty five ponies were captured. Of course this added another tribe to the camp of the hostiles.

General Howard with part of his troops and Captain

Trimble's men with volunteers under Hunter and McConville pushed down along the Snake in pursuit of Joseph who again crossed that river at Craig's Ferry and proceeded back over the Camas Prairie region again. This move had been suspected, for Whipple's command had been ordered to Norton's ranch to wait there for Perry coming up with supplies from Fort Lapwai. Whipple sent Scouts Foster and Blewett toward Craig's Ferry where Joseph was likely to cross the Salmon river. Foster soon returned reporting Indians in force. They had fired on him and he had lost sight of his comrade. Lieutenant S. M. Rains with ten men and Scout Foster were sent out to ascertain the strength of the enemy. Whipple at once moved his whole command and soon quickened pace at the sound of firing. The Indians retreated and it was found that Lieutenant Rains and every man of his little company had been killed.

On July fourth Whipple went out to give safer escort to Perry with the supply train. This was accomplished and a little later their camp at the Cottonwood , or Norton's ranch, was surrounded by Indians who made frantic efforts to dislodge the troops. Every man was on the line, in rifle pits, until sundown when the Indians withdrew for the night.

The next day, July fifth, Captain Randall's company

of volunteers, numbering seventeen men, was attacked about two miles from the Cottonwood camp. When relief reached them it was found that Captain Randall was mortally wounded, one man killed and two others wounded. The Indians were driven off. Colonel Perry was charged with criminal delay in sending relief but a court of inquiry afterwards exonerated him.

General Howard instead of crossing the Salmon River when Joseph did pushed back toward Grangeville and prepared to engage the hostiles in a battle near the Clearwater. In this he was successful. Joseph was flushed with victory and quite willing to give open battle. There followed on July eleventh and twelfth the two days' engagement known as the Battle of the Clearwater. In the first day's fighting the forces were just about equal. On the second day there approached a supply train escorted by Jackson's cavalry company. Before the battle Joseph had placed his camp in security and crossed the river for a fair and open fight. The struggle was a serious one. The whites showed much dash and gallantry. The Indians showed most remarkable marksmanship. The whites had put into the engagement four hundred fighting men and the Indians had over three hundred warriors who were assisted by the women bringing up spare horses and ammunition. The

Indians lost twenty-three killed, forty wounded, many of whom afterwards died, and about forty prisoners. The whites lost thirteen killed and twenty-two wounded.

The Indians were finally routed and the cavalry began a hot pursuit. The Indians deserted their camp where food was found still cooking, showing that defeat had not been expected.

On the morning of the thirteenth the Indians were found across the Clearwater about a mile above the ferry at Kamiah. From this camp they watched every move of the whites. Perry's and Whipple's men passing near the enemy's crossing experienced a small skirmish without result except that the whites jumped from their horses and ran to cover. General Howard sought to throw a column around to the rear of the Indians' camp but the move was detected and the whole camp of hostiles began a retreat in earnest moving out over the Lo Lo Trail toward Montana.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LO LO TRAIL.

---o---

This famous old trail was a well beaten Indian Highway over which the tribes had travelled for years before they had seen the first white men. It was their road to the buffalo country east of the Rockies. Many of the early travellers from Lewis and Clark[1] down mention the Lo Lo Trail. It was over this familiar highway that the Indians now began their memorable retreat.

General Howard had two plans of action before him. One was to leave a small garrison at Kamiah, go back to Lewiston, pick up supplies and press on to Missonla, Montana, leaving Camas Prairie and the harried Idaho country to the care of Colonel Green who would arrive from Boise, Idaho, in about ten days and to General Wheaton, who was hurrying on with the Second Infantry from Georgia. The second and approved plan was to form two columns and a reserve. General Howard would accompany the right column on a direct pursuit, General Wheaton should take the left column by way of the Mullan road to keep the renegade Col-

---

[1]Elliot Coues, History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Vol. II p.590.

umbia Indians pacified and the reserve, under Colonel Green, was to watch all trails and keep peace in the lately disturbed area.

These arrangements completed, a start was made on Thursday July twenty sixth. On Saturday General Howard, with McConville's volunteers made a reconnoissance to Little Camas, finding no signs of the Indian camps. On that day Major Sanford arrived from Colonel Green's command bringing three companies of cavalry under Bendire, Carr and Wagner and twenty Bannock scouts.

The trail so familiar to the Indians was a rough one for the troops who must take with them their few pieces of artillery and all their supplies and baggage. They had few extra horses while the Indians took with them about two thousand ponies. Patches of blood and hair on the logs that cumbered the trail told how the Indians had rushed on over the obstructions.

When Joseph started his retreat over the Lo Lo Trail dispatches were sent in all haste to the east. General John Gibbon, commanding in Montana at once began a march to intercept the hostiles. He left Fort Shaw with every available man which made a little army of eight officers and seventy-six men, on his way to Fort Missonla, one hun-

dred and fifty miles away.[1] Fort Missonla was occupied by two companies, Rawn's and Logan's. Hearing that Joseph was coming through Lo Lo Pass, Rawn took his command to that point, arriving there on July twenty fifth, accompanied by a number of citizen volunteers. They built up hasty fortifications in the narrow pass and none too soon for two days later the hostiles appeared. Under a flag of truce Chief Joseph had a talk with Captain Rawn, saying he had no quarrel with the people of Montana and simply wished to be allowed to pass on. Captain Rawn told him his people could not pass into the Bitter Root Valley unless they laid down their arms. On the next day negotiations were renewed and finding Captain Rawn determined Joseph said he would pass if he had to force his way. On the next morning firing was heard on the skirmish line. It looked like a serious moment but ere long it was found that Joseph had skillfully passed his whole band with their ponies and baggage over the mountain on the flank of Rawn's fortifications.[2] Most of the citizen volunteers had urged Rawn not to engage the Indians in a battle for that would surely mean that the victorious Indians would leave a trail of

---

[1]Brig. Gen. John Gibbon, Battle of the Big Hole, Harper's Weekly, Dec.21,1895, p.1215.
[2]G.O.Shields, Battle of the Big Hole, p.21.

and ashes in the Bitter Root Valley. Rawn's little command later came up with the Indians strongly encamped in the Bitter Root Valley. It would have been folly to attack them with his few men so he returned to Fort Missonla.

Colonel Charles A. Coolidge of the Seventh Infantry, United States Army, was a lieutenant in Logan's company of the same regiment during the Lo Lo Pass engagement. On June eighteenth last Colonel Coolidge was in Seattle, Washington, having but recently returned from the campaign in China. He is probably the only surviving officer of those present at Lo Lo Pass in July of 1877. He was later thrice wounded in the Battle of the Big Hole on August 9, 1877. Im conversation with the writer, during his visit at Seattle, Colonel Coolidge said he thought that Rawn's handful of men at Lo Lo Pass manifested more "sand" and bravery than was shown even in the bloody and hard fought Battle of the Big Hole.

CHAPTER V.

BATTLE OF THE BIG HOLE.

---o---

As already stated General Gibbon had left Fort Shaw with all the available men on June twenty seventh. On arriving at Fort Missonla he was soon after joined by Rawn's and Logan's companies and Browning's company of Infantry which had been ordered from Fort Ellis to Missonla. On August fourteenth General Gibbon left Fort Missonla to chase and attack Joseph's band. His command now numbered fifteen officers and one hundred and forty-six men. At this time the hostiles had about two hundred and sixty warriors, a large number of women and children and a great herd of ponies.

To get to Ross Hole it was necessary to cross a spur of mountains. At the foot of this spur stood Lockwood's ranch. The house was found thoroughly gutted. It was the only evidence of such depredation found in the Bitter Root Valley. Lockwood joined the forces and was severely wounded in the battle that followed. General Gibbon remarks that he thinks the demolition of Lockwood's home was done by stragglers, the pest of all armies, civilized or

savage.[1] After crossing that spur of mountains it was necessary to cross the main divide before coming up with the retreating Indians. On the eighth of August the scouts located the Indians encamped on the banks of Ruby Creek, a tributary of the Big Hole River. Indian women were seen in the timber collecting lodge poles. Evidently the camp was to remain there for some time. Great caution was observed. The troops were quietly brought to the opposite side of the Creek during the night. One of the Indians started out to look after the herds early in the morning. As he was passing through the line of troops he was shot down. The first shot was the signal agreed upon for the assault so the charge was made upon the sleeping camp. Joseph, himself, acknowledges[2] that he was surprised but he claims that they thought, when Captain Rawn retired after the Lo Lo Pass engagement, that the Montana soldiers had decided to let them pass in peace.

The troops charged through the camp and began to set the tepees on fire. The warriors rallied, they gathered up their herds, took them to a safe place, the fighting men were hastily mounted and returned to the fight in a frenzy

---

[1]General Gibbon, Battle of Big Hole, Harper's Weekly, Dec. 21,1895,p.1216.

[2]Young Joseph, An Indian's Views of Indian Affairs, North American Review, Vol.CXXVIII,pp.426-427.

of anger. The soldiers were driven from the camp. General Howard was seriously wounded but continued to direct the fight with a rifle in his hand obtaining needed protection in a point of timber where the soldiers were finally held at bay by the Indians. The howitzer was captured by the Indians as it was approaching the battlefield. They destroyed it after the sergeant in charge had scattered the ammunition. Surrounded by Indians the soldiers kept up the fight all day. They had no provisions. Only four horses had been taken into the fight. One of these, Lieutenant Woodruff's, was killed by the Indians within the lines of the soldiers' camp. It supplied the only food the men had for over twenty-four hours.

During the day the soldiers were treated to a piece of tactics they did not relish but which they recognized as the actual practice of what the Nez Perces had shown them in a sham battle at Fort Shaw the year before. The grass in the ravine leading up to the timber was set on fire. The Indians followed behind the blaze and smoke hoping to rush through for a final charge as the fire would drive the men from cover. In this case the wind changed just in time to blow the smoke and fire back from the timber shelter of the troops.

A night attack was expected but did not materialize.

The next day most of the Indians had gone but a few bands lingered around to do what damage they could. Twenty-five men volunteered under Captain Browing and Lieutenants Wright and Van Orsdale to go in search of the supply train, which they brought in at sundown much to the relief of the men. That second night vigilance again saved the command for at eleven o'clock a parting volley was fired into the camp and the Indians withdrew.

The next morning, August eleventh, parties were sent to bury the dead. The troops lost thirty-one killed and thirty-eight wounded. Eighty nine dead Indians were found on the field. Later the settlers reported finding human skeletons around the rocks and logs of that vicinity. These may have been the bones of wounded Indians who crawled away from the battlefield to die.[1] The whites buried the Indian dead as well as their own. The State of Montana has since erected on the battlefield a monument to the memory of the officers, soldiers and citizens who fell in that engagement.

The Indian dead included women and children. The Indians complained of this and Joseph also used strong language later in referring to the same thing.[2] It is

---

[1]G.O.Shields, Battle of the Big Hole, p.101. [2]Young Joseph, An Indian's Views of Indian Affairs, North American Review, Vol.CXXVIII, p.427.

difficult to see how the women and children could have been spared in that early morning raid on the camp. None such were wittingly killed unless they were caught shooting the soldiers as was several times the case. While visiting Chief Joseph and the remnant of his band on the Colville Reservation in June, 1901, the writer was told of an Indian women now seventy-one years of age, named Ta-ha-ya-ya. At the Battle of the Big Hole she was shot through the legs but in some way mounted a pony and fought like a demon by the side of the bravest warriors. Chief Joseph in telling of this woman went through motions to show how she was wounded, how her legs dangled from the saddle and how she fought. Surely soldiers could not be blamed for killing such a woman as this. Ta-ha-ya-ya is still alive and enjoys a great reputation among the Nez Perces. She was away on a visit among friends at Lapwai during the writer's visit at Nespilem.

CHAPTER VI.

CAMAS MEADOWS.

A RACE FOR SITTING BULL'S CAMP IN CANADA.

---o---

General Howard, with a small escort, reached General Gibbon's camp on the morning of August eleventh after the Indians had gone. Surgeons came the next day and rendered needed service to the wounded. On August thirteenth General Gibbon left three officers and fifty men to continue the pursuit with General Howard and he then took the balance of his command back to Deer Lodge, Montana.

General Howard at once took up the pursuit. Word was received that the Indians had killed eight citizens and obtained one hundred and fifty-five American horses in Horse Prairie. On August eighteenth the scouts had come upon the hostiles encamped in Camas Meadows just west of the Yellowstone National Park. The command was moved in that direction early on the morning of Sunday August nineteenth and the camp that had been occupied by the Indians was reached. Chief Joseph had marched on, placing his women and children beyond the reach of the troops, and then returned sending his young men forward to make a night raid. The purpose was to steal the horses and mules and

thus set the soldiers afoot. The raid was a success so far as the capture of the pack mules was concerned. The Indians stampeded and captured them. Chief Joseph waiting in ambush was greatly disappointed because the horses had not been captured. Later he said: "You did not picket your horses other nights, so I did not expect it this time."[1]

Three companies of cavalry under Major Sandford gave chase, recovered the mules but were ambushed, had a sharp conflict with the Indians, during which the mules were again stampeded and permanently lost. In the fight the troops lost one dead and six wounded.

The camp of the Indians was again seen not far from Henry Lake but they escaped through Tacher's Pass into Yellowstone Park. General Howard's soldiers were now in sore need of supplies so he made a quick trip to Virginia City, seventy miles away on August twenty fourth and three days later the command took up the pursuit greatly refreshed. In Yellowstone Park was found the wounded men of the Cowan party of pleasure hunters who had fallen into the hands of the Indians. One member had been killed, two wounded and Mrs.Cowan, a young lady, and her brother were carried off as prisoners. These were afterwards set at

---

1C.E.S.Wood, Chief Joseph, Century, Vol.VI,p.140.

liberty by Joseph.

Major Spurgin and his pioneers helped with the wagon road repairs over rough places as they had previously done on the Lo Lo Trail.

Evidences accumulated now that the Indians no longer spared the whites. Frequent reports came to the soldiers of the murders and plunderings by the hostiles.

Colonel Miles had sent Colonel Sturgis with seven companies of the Seventh Cavalry to head off the Nez Perces if they should escape from the other pursuers. Chief Joseph quickly eluded this new enemy. On September tenth General Howard and Colonel Sturgis met and combined forces. Sturgis was given an addition to his force, some scouts, artillery, and cavalry and he then pushed out to overtake the Indians. He charged them gallantly and had a running fight to the Musselshell. The principal result was that he captured hundreds of ponies belonging to the Indians but the latter made good their escape.

It was now evident that the Indians were racing for Canada to join Sitting Bull.

In Clark's Valley General Howard drew up the letter to Colonel Nelson A. Miles, then located far below at

Tongue River, apprising him of the situation.[1] Joseph had succeeded in getting away from his pursuers. Unless Colonel Miles should head him off he was sure of crossing the British line, thus crowning with success his most remarkable march over some of the roughest portions of the American continent.

---

[1]General Howard, Nez Perce Joseph, p.256; compare General Miles, Personal Recollections, p.262.

CHAPTER VII.

BATTLE OF BEAR PAW MOUNTAIN. THE SURRENDER.

---o---

Colonel Miles received the letter from General Howard on the evening of September seventeenth at his cantonment, later called Fort Keogh. He instantly sent couriers in all directions to assemble available troops and ordering supplies to the upper Missouri to meet the commands of Howard and Sturgis. During the night his own troops were ferried across the Yellowstone and by early morning he was ready to hurl his command like a missle toward the fleeing Nez Perces.[1] Colonel Miles had a force of three hundred and seventy-five men, all told. This included about thirty Cheyene Indian allies. He had a Hotchkiss gun and a twelve-pounder Napoleon. Apparently by intuition Miles marched his men across country in a direct line for the Indians who were fast approaching the Canadian line and when overtaken at Bear Paw Mountain they were only forty miles from that haven of safety.

After eluding Colonel Sturgis, Chief Joseph skirted along the Musselshell for a few miles, crossed that river,

---

1G. W. Baird, Capture of Chief Joseph, International Review, August, 1879, p.210.

passed over the range of Snow Mountains, around Judith Mountain and across country to the Missouri which he crossed at Cow Island. Here the Indians overpowered the little garrison and destroyed a large amount of supplies, defeated another small force, mostly civilians from Fort Benton and then moved northward between the Little Rocky and the Bear Paw Mountains. Some of the men, escaping in a boat from Cow Island, took the news to Miles, then at the mouth of the Musselshell, fifty miles below. Miles was on familiar ground and at once moved to the point where his scouts had located the Indians. He arrived at the encampment on the morning of September thirtieth after an all night's march. The Indians were surprised. Their camp was cut in two at the first charge and most of their horses were captured. But they quickly rallied and repelled the attack so stubbornly that Miles settled down for a seige that lasted for four days. The weather had turned cold, the ground being covered with snow. The suffering of the Indians was intense.

On June twenty fifth, 1901, while visiting at Nespilem, the writer went with Chief Joseph to the blacksmith shop and while some work was being done for him the Chief talked of his last battle. With his cane he drew on the earth-floor a rough outline of the field, locating the op-

posed forces. The spots were indicated where had fallen his brother, Chief Ollicutt, Chief Looking Glass and Chief Too-hul-hul-sote —— three chiefs lost in the last battle. Around them lay other dead and in the camp were the suffering women and children. Chief White Bird and some of his people had escaped. Joseph could also escape and was urged to do so but in speaking of this the Chief again referred to his people suffering in the camp and raising himself to his full stature he exclaimed: "Nica waw-waw mitlite!" which was the Chinook jargon for: "I said I would stay here!" at the same time pointing to his camp on the rude map.

On the evening of October fourth General Howard arrived and on the next morning he was standing at the side of Colonel Miles when Chief Joseph surrendered. He offered his rifle to Howard but at a nod from that one-armed veteran who had chased him over fourteen hundred miles the rifle was handed, instead, to Colonel Miles. It was on the occasion of his surrender that Chief Joseph made his famous speech:[1] "Tell General Howard I know his heart. What he told me before I have in my heart. I am tired of fighting. Our chiefs are killed. Looking Glass is dead.

---

[1]Gen. G. A. Forsyth, The Story of the Soldier, p.362; G. O. Shields, Battle of the Big Hole, p.117.

Too-hul-hul-sote is dead. The old men are all dead. It is the young men who say yes or no. He who led on the young men is dead. It is cold and we have no blankets. The little children are freezing to death. My people, some of them, have run away to the hills, and have no blankets, no food; no one knows where they are — perhaps freezing to death. I want to have time to look for my children and see how many of them I can find. Maybe I shall find them among the dead. Hear me, my chiefs. I am tired; my heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands I will fight no more forever."

Thus was ended this memorable campaign. The losses in the Battle of Bear Paw Mountain to the troops were two officers and twenty-three enlisted men killed and four officers and thirty-eight men wounded. The Indians claimed a loss of thirty killed.

For the first time in Indian warfare the hostiles had refrained from torturing prisoners and from scalping or otherwise mutilating their dead enemies. The generalship that led the savages and arranged them for battle approached civilized methods to such a degree that military men have ever since expressed the greatest admiration for Chief Joseph and his skillful leadership.

CHAPTER VIII.

VIOLATION OF PROMISES. JOSEPH'S BAND PRISONERS OF WAR.

---o---

After the surrender of Joseph came the problem of what should be done with his people. There is no doubt but that, in the talks which preceded the actual surrender, Chief Joseph was promised that his people would be sent back to their homes in Idaho. C.E.S.Wood, who was General Howard's aide-de-camp throughout the campaign, is very emphatic on this point.[1] General Howard claims that the terms of surrender were made void when Chief Joseph allowed Chief White Bird to escape.[2] But White Bird was an older chief than Joseph and it seems hardly fair to hold Joseph responsible for that escape. At any rate General Howard gave orders to Colonel Miles to hold the Nez Perces until spring when they should be transferred to the Department of the Columbia unless higher authorities should send different instructions.

Chief Joseph persistently maintained that upon his

---

[1]Wood, Chief Joseph, Century, Vol.VI,p.142; also in a personal letter dated at Portland, Oregon, July 23, 1900.
[2]Howard, True Story of the Wallowa Campaign, North American Review, Vol.CXXIX,p.63.

surrender he was promised that his people should be returned to Idaho.[1]

Colonel Miles took the surrendered Indians to his camp on the Yellowstone where he says he intended to keep them until spring when they would be sent back to Idaho.[2] They were kept in that camp for ten days when orders came to transfer the Indians down the river to Bismarck, Dakota. From Bismarck they were ordered to be transferred to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Here they were kept during the winter. On December fourth the War Department reported the number of Nez Perce prisoners to be seventy-nine men, one hundred and seventy-eight women and one hundred and seventy-four children, a total of four hundred and thirty-one. When the orders came to transfer the prisoners to Indian Territory it was found that there were but four hundred and ten and of these three died enroute to the new quarters. Two hundred and sixty of the four hundred and seven were sick and within a few months one fourth of the whole number died.[3]

The first location in Indian Territory was about three miles from Seneca, Missouri, on the Onapaw Reservation.

---

[1]U.S.Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Reports, 1878, pp.XXXII-XXXV; 1881,p.94. [2]Miles, Personal Recollections, p.279. [3]U.S.Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1878, pp.XXXII-XXXV.

This proved a very unhealthy place for them and the next year they were removed to the Ponca Reservation, about fifteen miles west of the agency.

The next year, or in February 1880, a day school was opened for these Indians. It was conducted by James Reubens, an educated, Christian Nez Perce, who had journeyed from Idaho to be of some help to his people in exile. In May, 1883, Reubens closed his school and with permission of the War Department took twenty-nine Nez Perces, mostly widows and orphans of the war, back to Idaho.

Two years later, or in May, 1885, the rest of the Nez Perces left Indian Territory for the far northwest. Part of them went to Idaho but Chief Joseph and one hundred and twenty of his people were located on the banks of the Nespilem River, Colville Reservation in December, 1885. Agent Moore was authorized to issue them full rations.[1]

It is interesting to see what General Miles has to say about the transfer of these Indians from Indian Territory:[2] "I frequently and persistently for seven long years urged that they be sent home to their own country, but not until 1884, when I was in command of the Department of the Col-

---

[1]U. S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1886, p.232.
[2]Miles, Personal Recollections, p.280.

umbia, did I succeed in having them returned west of the mountains to near their own country, where they have remained at peace ever since."

CHAPTER IX.

PRESENT CONDITIONS.

---o---

The week beginning with June 21, 1901, was devoted by the writer to a trip to Nespilem, on the Colville Indian Reservation, State of Washington, for the purpose of visiting Chief Joseph and his surviving warriors and to learn something of their present conditions. To get there from Spokane, Washington, one should take the Washington Central train to Wilbur and from there an all day's ride with a team crossing the Columbia River on a cable ferry.

The Colville Reservation has been cut in two. The Government has thus far neglected to pay the Indians the $1,500,000 agreed upon for the northern half. The southern half has also been thrown open for mineral entries and the familiar haunts and pasture lands of the Indians are now being overrun by a constant stream of prospectors. The writer visited one mining camp within two miles of Chief Joseph's tepee where the herds of Indian ponies are startled twice a day by the blasting of the rocks. At the subagency are two stores where these miners procure supplies.

The last census shows that there were in 1900 one hun-

dred and twenty-seven of Chief Joseph's band at Nespilem as follows[1]:

Males above 18 years of age	32
Males under 18 years of age	22
Females above 14 years of age	53
Females under 14 years of age	20
Total	127

There are also on this reservation two hundred and ninety-two of Moses's band of Columbians and five hundred and seventy-five listed as Okanogans.

Chief Moses of the Columbians had been located on the Nespilem before Chief Joseph's band was brought there. He had gone to Washington City and secured many favors for his people such as a saw-mill, grist-mill, physician, blacksmith and school and a yearly salary for himself of one thousand dollars. He also procured certain allowances of agricultural implements.

Chief Joseph got no salary but the Government has issued his people regular rations of food, clothes and agricultural implements. From this fact and from the fact that he and the members of his band are supposed to ask permission if they wish to leave the reservation it is construed that Joseph's band are still practically prisoners

---

[1]Census manuscript at Nespilem.

of war.

The best agriculturalists in this vicinity are the remnants of the original Nespilems, who first occupied the land. They live in frame houses, till the soil, and with unusual pride, refuse to receive aid from the Government. If they get a reaper from the Government store-house they insist on paying for it in hay or labor.

Joseph's band, on the other hand, being supplied with everything they need, do not progress in the industrial activities. It is claimed that this idleness is a bad influence on the other Indians and the agents have been asking the Government to curtail and finally discontinue all rations to the Nez Perces.[1]

In order to get lumber for houses, barns or other purposes, the Indians go to the hills and cut the logs, which they haul to the mill. Then they assist the Government sawyer to cut the logs into whatever shape is desired. They mark their own logs and keep track of all the details carrying the finished product to their homes.

The Government built for Chief Joseph a small, rough-board, battened house and a barn on the farm he selected about four miles from the sub-agency. The Chief will not

---

[1] U.S.Commissioner of Indian Affaris, Annual Reports, 1888, p.223; 1890, pp.217-218; 1891, p.442; 1892, p.493; 1893, p.321; 1894, p.311; 1897, p.290; 1898, p.298; 1899, pp. 354-355.

live in his house and the roof of his barn is broken in. He prefers to live in the traditional tepee, winter and summer, and this tepee he has pitched near the sub-agency so he can be near his people and the school.

The teacher of the school, Barnett Stillwell, who has been there for four years, says that Chief Joseph has manifested great interest in the children. He often visits the school, at which times the Indian children would remain almost motionless. On several occasions he administered light punishment to some of the little ones, who were not progressing to suit him.

Not far from the school house is the Nez Perce burial ground. The head-stones consist of poles set in the ground with bells or feathers ornamenting the tops. It forms a weird picture of mingled savagery and civilization. Chief Joseph presides at every Nez Perce funeral with great and solemn dignity.

The interior of Chief Joseph's tepee presents a model appearance of neatness. Indian mats cover the floor and in huge rolls around the edge are buffalo robes now quite scarce among the Indians, and blankets. From one of these rolls the Chief brought a small leather trunk in which were bundles of letters he had received from white men, and photographs of Indian and white friends. He knew each face

and seemed gald to call up memories of his friends and relatives. At the bottom of his trunk were the eagle hat and saddle robe with which his high rank is proclaimed on all gala days.

The Indians were making great preparations for the approaching Fourth of July when they would have a celebration extending over one or two weeks. Joseph would not allow his picture to be taken until that time when his wardrobe would be in better condition for such an important operation. The Indians of this whole region show their respect for Chief Joseph by according him, without any questioning, the principal place of honor on all great festivals or celebrations.

Chief Moses had a great reputation among the Indians and whites of this section but he was dissipated. The Indians will manage at times to get liquor and Moses brought on his own death by a protracted spree. Chief Joseph never drinks intoxicants. "Nica halo bottlum", as he puts it in Chinook.

Moses had two wives who survive him. Joseph is now the only Indian on the reservation who has two wives. His wives are Wa-win-te-pi-ksat, aged forty-six, and I-a-tu-ton-my, aged thirty-nine. Joseph's Nez Perce name is Hin-mah-too-Yah-lat-kekht meaning "Thunder rolling in the mountains."

He claims that he is fifty-three years old but General Howard estimated his age at thirty-seven at the time of his war, which would make him sixty-one years old now.

Henry M. Steele, the sub-agent at Nespilem, says that Joseph's wives do all the work about the home and always call for the rations on issue day. He says that Joseph is appealed to when there are harnesses or other such goods to give out to the Nez Perces. The Chief will designate the ones to be thus favored but he usually begins the process by claiming one of the articles for himself.

On our visit to the tepee, the writer saw Joseph unharnessing his team and on another day he was saddling a pony. The sub-agent said on both occasions that it was unusual. The wives or his helpers usually did such things for him.

The Government has built for Joseph two small "ietas" houses in which are kept his many precious properties. In one are four rifles. One of these is old and worn. Joseph says it is the one he carried through the war. Here is also seen nicely framed the certificate of Chief Joseph's appointment as an aid in the New York parade at the dedication of the Grant memorial monument on April 27, 1897. On that occasion he marched side by side with his friend

Buffalo Bill.

Joseph was asked what Indian chief he considered the greatest and he answered that he thought his father, also a Chief Joseph, was the greatest. To another question he said he thought his brother Ollicutt was the next greatest chief.

Joseph has had nine children, five girls and four boys, but they are all dead. One died since living at Nespilem, two died in Indian Territory and the rest died in Idaho. One daughter grew to womanhood and was married. He seems especially fond of her memory and tells what a good girl she was while showing her picture. On the back of this tintype picture is written "for Chief Joseph from his loving Daughter Sarah Moses."

Bereft of his children the Chief now leads a quiet life sustained by the Government against whose authority he waged a long and bitter warfare. His last effort to regain the Wallowa Valley has been investigated by Inspector James McLaughlin who has reported strongly against the request.[1] But Joseph still longs for that old home the "Valley of Winding Waters." In a dictated letter to the

---

[1]Seattle Post-Intelligence, July 8, 1900: Chicago Record, August 8, 1900.

writer, dated at Nespilem, May 27, 1901, he says: "My old home is in the Wallowa Valley and I want to go back there to live. My father and mother are buried there. If the Government would only give me a small piece of land for my people in the Wallowa Valley, with a teacher, that is all I would ask."

The white people in Wallowa Valley have named one of their towns Joseph and their newspaper was called Chieftain but there the sentiment ends. They enter strong protest when it is talked of sending any of the Nez Perces back to that home of their forefathers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

---o---

"Appealing for a Home." Seattle Post-Intelligence, (July 8, 1900.)

Baird, G. W.: The Capture of Chief Joseph and the Nez Perces. International Review, VII, 209-215. (August, 1879.)

Baird, G. W.: General Miles's Indian Campaigns. Century, XX, 351-370. (July, 1891.)

Bancroft, Hubert Howe: Native Races of the Pacific States of North America. S.Vols.I, 254-255. (San Francisco, 1814-75.)

Brooks, Elbridge S.: The Story of the American Indian. (Boston, Lothrop, 1887.)

Carr, Lucien: Additions to the Museum. Reports of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology, II, 14. (1877.)

Census of United States, 1890. Indians, pp. 605, 615.

Chief Joseph: An Indian's Views of Indian Affairs. North American Review, CXXVIII. 412-433. (April 1879.)

Coues, Elliot: History of the Expedition under the Command

of Lewis and Clark. (N.Y., Francis P. Harper, 1893.)

Drake, F. S.: Indian History for Young Folks. (N.Y., Harper's, 1885.)

Dunn, J. P. Jr.: Massacres of the Mountains. Ch.XIX. (N.Y., Harper's, 1886.)

"F. L. M.": The Nez Perce War. Galaxy, XXIV. 817-826. (December, 1877.)

Forsyth, G. A.: The Story of the Soldier, Ch.XV. (N.Y., Appleton, 1900.)

Gatschet, A. S.: (Nez Perce Grammar Secured.) 15th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology. p. XXXI (1893-1894.)

Gibbon, John: The Pursuit of "Joseph." American Catholic Quarterly, IV, 317-344. (April, 1879.)

Gibbon, John: The Battle of the Big Hole. Harper's Weekly, XXXIX, 2035, 2036.pp.1215-1216, and 1235-1236. (December 21, 28, 1895.)

Henshaw, H. W.: (Nez Perce Vocabulary Secured.) 10th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, p.XIV. (1888-1889.)

Howard, O. O.: The True Story of the Wallowa Campaign. North American Review. CXXIX, 53-64. (July, 1879.)

Howard, O. O.: Nez Perce Joseph. (Boston. Lee and Shepard, 1881.)

Howard's Nez Perce Campaign. Review. The Nation, XXXIII, 95-96. (April 4, 1881.)

Irving, Washington: Astoria. Ch.LII. (N.Y., Putnams, 1880?)

Irving, Washington: Adventures of Captain Bonneville. Ch.VIII. (N.Y., Putnams, 1880?)

Jackson, Helen Hunt: A Century of Dishonor. (Boston. Little, Brown and Company, 1900.)

Mallery, Garrick: Pictographs of North American Indians. 5th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, p.121. (1882-1883.)

Miles, Nelson A.: The Indian Problem. North American Review, CXXVIII. 304-314. (March, 1879.)

Miles, Nelson A.: Personal Recollections and Observations, Chs.XX-XXI. (Chicago. Werner. 1897.)

Mooney, James: The Ghost Dance Religion. 14th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology.pp. 708-715. (1892-1893.)

Mooney, James: (Kiowa Name for Nez Perces.) 17th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 154. (1895-1896.)

"Nez Perce Campaign." Baltimore American, October 12, 1877.

"Nez Perces Cannot Move." Chicago Record, August 8, 1900.

Nez Perce Treaty of 1855. Washington. (1859.) (Pamphlet.)

Packard, R. L.: Notes on the Mythology and Religion of the Nez Perces. Journal of American Folk Lore. IV. 327-330. (October - December, 1891.)

Pilling, James C.: Bibliography of the Chinookan Languages. Bulletin No.15. Bureau of American Ethnology. (1893.)

Richardson, James D.: Messages and Papers of the Presidents. VI. 202, 695; VII. 472. (Washington, 1897-1898.)

Roosevelt, Theodore: Winning of the West. 4 Vols. (N.Y., Putnam, 1889-1894.)

Roosevelt, Theodore: (Joseph Compared with Aguinaldo.) Speech in Chicago, October 6, 1900. Seattle Post-Intelligence, October 7,1900.

Royer, Charles C.: The Cherokee Nation of Indians. 5th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 364. (1883-1884.)

Shields, G. O.: The Battle of the Big Hole. (Chicago, Rand, McNally and Company, 1889.)

Stevens, Hazard: Life of Isaac I. Stevens. 2 Vols. II, Ch. XXIX. (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1900.)

United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Annual Reports, 1856-1899.

United States Secretary of War. Annual Reports. 1876-1877; 1877-1878.

Washington Territorial Journal, House of Representatives. 1854.pp.15-22. (Olympia, 1854.)

Wood, C. E. S.: Chief Joseph, The Nez Perce. Century, VI, 135-142. (May, 1884.)

Wood, C. E. S.: Famous Indians. Century, XXIV. 436-445. (July, 1893.)

Wood, Henry Clay: Status of Young Joseph and His Band of Nez Perce Indians. Portland, Oregon. (January 8, 1876.) (Pamphlet.)

Wood, H. Clay: Supplement to above Report. Portland, Oregon. (December 1, 1876.) (Pamphlet.)

Wood, H. Clay: (Visit to Young Joseph's Band.) Newspaper clipping. (1876?) Indian Pamphlets, XXXVIII. Wisconsin State Historical Society.

MANUSCRIPTS.

---o---

Census of Indians. Nespilem, Washington. (1900.)

Chief Joseph. (Desire for the old Home in Wallowa Valley.) Letters to Edmond S. Meany. Nespilem, Washington. (August 24, 1900; May 27 and June 25, 1901.)

Cody, W. F.: (Opinion of Chief Joseph.) Letter to Edmond S. Meany. Madison, Wisconsin. (July 24, 1901.)

Coolidge, Charles A.: The Lo Lo Pass Affair. Vancouver Barracks, Washington. (July 29, 1901.)

Howard, O. O.: (Present Judgment of Joseph's Treatment.) Letter to Edmond S. Meany. Burlington, Vermont. (July 24, 1900.)

Jones, W. A.: (Documents relating to the Nez Perces in the Bureau of Indian Affairs.) Washington, D.C. (July 29, 1901.)

"Joseph, the Nez Perce." Anonymous Poem. Indian Pamphlets. XXXVIII. Wisconsin State Historical Society.

Latham, E. H.: (Taking Chief Joseph's Photograph.) Fort Spokane, Washington. (July 31, 1901.)

McLaughlin, James: (Chief Joseph's Band and the Wallowa Valley.) Letter to the Secretary of the Interior. Nez Perces Agency, Spalding, Idaho. (June 23, 1900.)

McLaughlin, James: (Chief Joseph's Band and the Wallowa Valley.) Letter to the Secretary of the Interior. Colville Agency, Miles, Washington. (July 3, 1900.)

McLean, I. D.: (Aid in Tracing Chief White Bird.) Ottawa, Canada. (August 2, 1901.)

Miles, Nelson A.: Opinion of Joseph's Character. Letter to Edmond S. Meany. Washington. (July 20, 1901.)

Rea, John A.: (Giving to the world Chief Joseph's Speech of Surrender.) Olympia, Washington. (August 26, 1900.)

Roosevelt, Theodore: (Opinion of Joseph.) Letter to Edmond S. Meany. Oyster Bay, N.Y. (July 18, 1901.)

United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs. (Chief Joseph's Claim to the Wallowa Valley.) Letter to the Secretary of the Interior. Washington, D.C. (April 21, 1900.)

Wood, C. E. S.: (Justice of Joseph's Treatment.) Letter to Edmond S. Meany. Portland, Oregon. (July 23, 1900.)

Wood, C. E. S.: (Scenes and Persons at the Surrender of Chief Joseph.) Letter to Edmond S. Meany. Portland, Oregon. (July 27, 1901.)

Committee:

Frederick J. Turner

Paul S. Reinsch.

C. Frances Harris.